3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

276 to excess as among some other peoples. It is almost [438] never grown by them, their supply coming from their [177] negro neighbors or through trade. The Indians claim that tobacco was not known to this region in aboriginal times, but that it was introduced considerably later than the Spanish conquest. This statement is borne out by the fact that the name for tobacco is ta'kō, which is evidently an adaptation of the Spanish term tabaco. They use neither pipes nor cigarettes, but confine their smoking entirely to cigars made by themselves. They procure the half leaves of tobacco in bundles, which are stored away until a smoke is actually wanted, when each person rolls his own cigar. The habit of chewing tobacco appears to be unknown.

276 In addition to smoking for pleasure, tobacco is used 776 ceremonially. When it is desired to drive out malevolent ●789 spirits from a certain spot, a medicine-man is called in, and, assisted by the ordinary people present and perhaps by another medicine-man or two, he performs a ceremony which makes the place untenable for the spirits. Each participant provides himself with a cigar and a small calabash of a decoction made from the leaves of a certain herb, and all make a systematic tour of the infested place. As they go slowly along they wet everything about them with the decoction, blowing it from the mouth in a fine spray. Interspersed with this spraying is the blowing of tobacco smoke into the air and on any objects with which they come in contact. The head medicine-man sings or whistles certain songs and waves a special banner from time to time as the party proceeds, and

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

these acts, combined with the spraying and smoking, gradually drive the spirits from the locality.

Another important product of this region is pita, called sa'nō, by the Cayapa, a plant resembling somewhat the yucca of the Southwestern desert region of the United States, but with leaves which sometimes reach a length of fifteen or sixteen feet. It is usually grown at some distance back from the river, and seems to thrive best in the dense shade of the jungle. When once well started it requires very little attention other than the cutting away of undergrowth and clearing of the field which is incidental to the harvesting of the leaves. These leaves yield long, very strong fibers, called sañ bu'tyū, which are twisted into two-ply strings. These are much used in net-making, in binding the selvage of textiles, for fish-lines, and for a variety of other purposes where very strong cord is required. The leaves are cut close to the ground and brought to the house in bundles such as those illustrated in pl. LXVI, where a large and a small bundle of the freshly cut, long leaves are shown leaning against the side of the house. Each leaf yields a large number of fibers, the laborious preparation of which will be discussed in speaking of string-making.

While pita is the strongest material and is considered the best from all points of view, there is another material, *called in the local Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa* señgi'lya, which is used especially where string or rope of large diameter and of moderate strength is desired, such as for hammocks. This material is derived from the bark of a tree and is obtained by heating in a manner

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

622 village. The successor of an official is definitely known
624 long before the death of the latter, but an official vacancy is not actually filled until the coming of the priest. Then, in the presence of all the other officials and anyone else who may wish to be present, the priest delivers an address in which he names the new official, announces his duties and privileges, commends him to the respect of the people, and charges him with the duties and responsibilities which he is about to assume. On the death of the chief, for instance, his duties are relegated to some other official, usually one of the "alcaldes," until such time as the priest shall arrive and inaugurate a successor.

465 None of these officials are supposed to receive com-
622 pensation other than the honor and respect in which they
681 are held. The chief, however, usually levies fines upon offenders, of which he takes personal possession and could, if he so desired, use a portion of them for his private needs, since no special account of such matters is kept by anyone. As a matter of fact such a thing rarely or never happens; on the contrary the chief uses the fines for paying the services of officers of the law whom he may send on missions of various kinds, such as bringing culprits to justice, settling disputes among his people, and the like. A portion of the money he uses also for the payment of shamans whom he employs now and then to expel dangerous spirits from his village, from deep pools in the river, or from other places where these mysterious beings are supposed to endanger the lives of the people at large. At the present time, when coins of Ecuador and Colombia are comparatively easy to obtain, fines are paid in money, but in earlier times they were always paid in commodities.

[756
776
789]

[436]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the skin the stone or other object which, by traveling through the body, together with the spirit which resides in it, causes the illness. 755

Shamans or doctors form, to a certain extent at least, a special class by themselves, but, so far as could be ascertained, they have no secret or special organization. They are not, on the other hand, "predestined" or specially selected by natural temperament. Any one may become a shaman if he so wishes by simply training under the guidance and instruction of one or more old shamans of recognized ability. For this training he pays a stipulated sum, and is instructed every night until he has learned thoroughly the songs and incantations and the various rituals of his instructor, and also has become more or less familiar with the special spirits which his instructor invokes. He does not, however, rely solely on the spirits of his instructor, but sooner or later acquires others of his own. Likewise, he may devise new songs and incantations. 756 [465]

Not only has the shaman to cure by expelling the spirits from the body of a patient, but he has the more important function of expelling spirits from a locality or from a particular house infested with those which cause illness. This expulsion of spirits from a locality or a house is usually accomplished by several persons under the direction of a head shaman. A decoction of *rum and bejuco is almost always used by the* shaman himself in this exorcism; the other participants are provided with a kind of decoction made by soaking a species of native mint in water. A large number of cigars are also provided, and it is the blowing of the tobacco smoke, 789

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

789 along with the spraying of the decoctions from the mouth, that makes the particular locality or house untenable for the spirits. The shaman intersperses his blowing and spraying with incantations and with low whistling. He also carries a special lance-shape wand which he waves constantly with a forward motion.

In one instance in which the spirits were to be expelled from a house, the procedure was as follows: The party commenced at one end of the main floor and went slowly toward the opposite end. As they proceeded, each person thoroughly sprayed the floor in front of him and blew clouds of smoke into the air before him. Also every basket, bench, and pottery vessel, and every nook and corner wherein a spirit might be hiding, was thoroughly sprayed and smoked. The main floor being finished, the loft was treated in a similar manner. Next the party descended to the ground under the house, where everything was thoroughly sprayed, even to the pigs and chickens in their pens and coops. Finally, to be sure that the spirits had been completely expelled, the party proceeded, with its spraying and incantations, into the adjoining clearing, and even for a short distance into the jungle.

755 Such a ceremony is not an especially solemn occasion. In fact the participants laugh and talk throughout, much as if they were engaged in any daily pursuit. This expulsion of spirits is resorted to when several members of a family have been stricken with the same disease. For instance, in case several members have been attacked in succession with fever, one or more shamans are summoned and the spirits which are believed

by a new sibling. Weaning is gradual; however, the child is also told that an animal will come to eat him if he continues to suck which frightens him and hastens his loss of interest in the breast. From about the age of four months he is given supplementary foods and by the age of three years he eats everything. Women who are unable to nurse apply a poultice to their breasts. This poultice is made of lechera, a weed with a milky sap; this is done in the vain hope of stimulating lactation. The neighboring Negro women wean their infants at one year, and when opportunity affords, they chide the Cayapa women about their protracted nursing. This is beginning to have some effect, and a few women now wean their children by one year.

When a woman dies in childbirth, the child may be given to another woman who is lactating. Some feel that "the child dies anyway as the spirit of the dead mother will kill it." On the other hand, the infant can be taken directly to the ceremonial center where earth from the mother's grave is thrown at it at the time of her burial. If this ritual is practiced, two men stand on opposite sides of the grave passing the infant back and forth five or six times. This, it is

said, insures that the infant will live. Following this procedure, the neonate is transferred to the care of a lactating woman. This mother surrogate is paid for her services by the child's father. Eventually, when the child can speak, he is returned to his father.

Birth Control. Induced abortions are unknown, according to all informants, and this information is very likely reliable because bastards /išui-/ are first delivered, and then are usually killed. Similarly, there does not seem to be any knowledge of birth control devices nor of the practice of coitus interruptus. In marked contrast to the Negroes of the area whose children line up like stepping-stones, there is often a two- to four-year break between living children for the Cayapa. In some cases this difference is accounted for by the high infant mortality rate; in other cases, it is explained by lower fertility; in still other cases the lower sex drive may be the causative factor. We shall discuss the latter premise in the chapter dealing with personality factors. In any event, the Cayapa recognize their weakness in numbers